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Challenge

**LAND
USE
&
HUMAN
NEEDS**



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HUD Challenge

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
James T. Lynn, Secretary

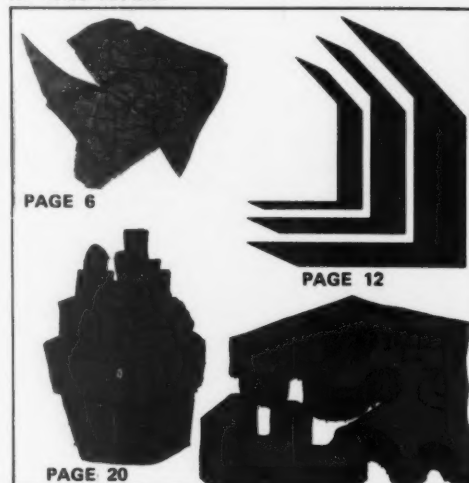
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IN THIS ISSUE:



PAGE 6: Transferable Development Rights (a concept derived from HUD-funded research) is examined as a system for providing equity in land use devoid of adverse economic implications, while providing important options for the local community.

PAGE 12: Implications of the debate on land use and growth are viewed from the perspective of the homebuilding industry, followed by a statement of NAHB policy on land use and the environment:

PAGE 20: The complex issues inherent in the rising clamor over growth and land use policies and attendant court rulings are highlighted.

PAGE 24: Highlights of the first quantitative analysis of the economic, environmental and social costs of several different neighborhood and community land use patterns are presented, followed by a summary of the implications and potential uses of *The Costs of Sprawl*.

Due to notice from the Superintendent of Documents, annual subscription rates for *HUD Challenge* have been increased: Domestic—\$15.90; Foreign—\$19.90; a single copy—\$1.40.

NEXT MONTH:

A broad range of topics will be covered in selected articles.

COVER: Photo by Joe Barcia

looking ahead

Land Use and Urban Growth

In a year-long research effort the American Bar Association will examine legal and administrative procedures involved in urban growth and land use management as they affect housing and balanced community development. A special advisory commission on housing and urban growth set up by the association to carry out the project, which is funded by HUD under its policy development and research program, will: (1) evaluate the effectiveness of current land use tools in promoting sound community development and urban growth; (2) formulate standards to assist State and local legislators and officials in the reform and development of land use guidance tools; and (3) devise alternative methods by which the judiciary can fashion remedies for dealing with land use and urban growth problems. The advisory commission's membership includes lawyers, builders, developers, architects, planners, economists and local government officials versed in land use and urban growth problems.

Agriculture and Urban Sprawl

The National Audubon Society warns against urban sprawl that destroys U.S. farmland needed to feed Americans and a famine-threatened world and advocates land banking as a way of preventing spoliation of agricultural land. A number of States (New Jersey, Minnesota, Oregon, Michigan, California, New Hampshire, Vermont) have recognized the dangers of destroying rich farmland and passed preferential tax assessment laws under which farmland is assessed on its value for agricultural production rather than its potential as a site for subdivision.

Highway-Building Alternatives Sought

New York State is looking for alternatives to the practice of building more and bigger highways to accommodate automobile traffic. The policy now, according to Transportation Commissioner, Raymond T. Schuler, is directed to "striving to find ways to hold down the number of vehicles on major roadways." Thus, instead of going ahead with planning to enlarge the Long Island Expressway, a task force will study ways to utilize existing highways and their use by buses, car pooling, and rail transit expansion and improvement.

Vienna's Kaerntnerstrasse

From Austria comes a report that Vienna plans to turn its Kaerntnerstrasse, the Fifth Avenue of Vienna, into a pedestrian mall. The plans call for an area where shoppers can stroll in an atmosphere free of noise, hurry and automobile exhaust fumes.

A County Land Use Plan

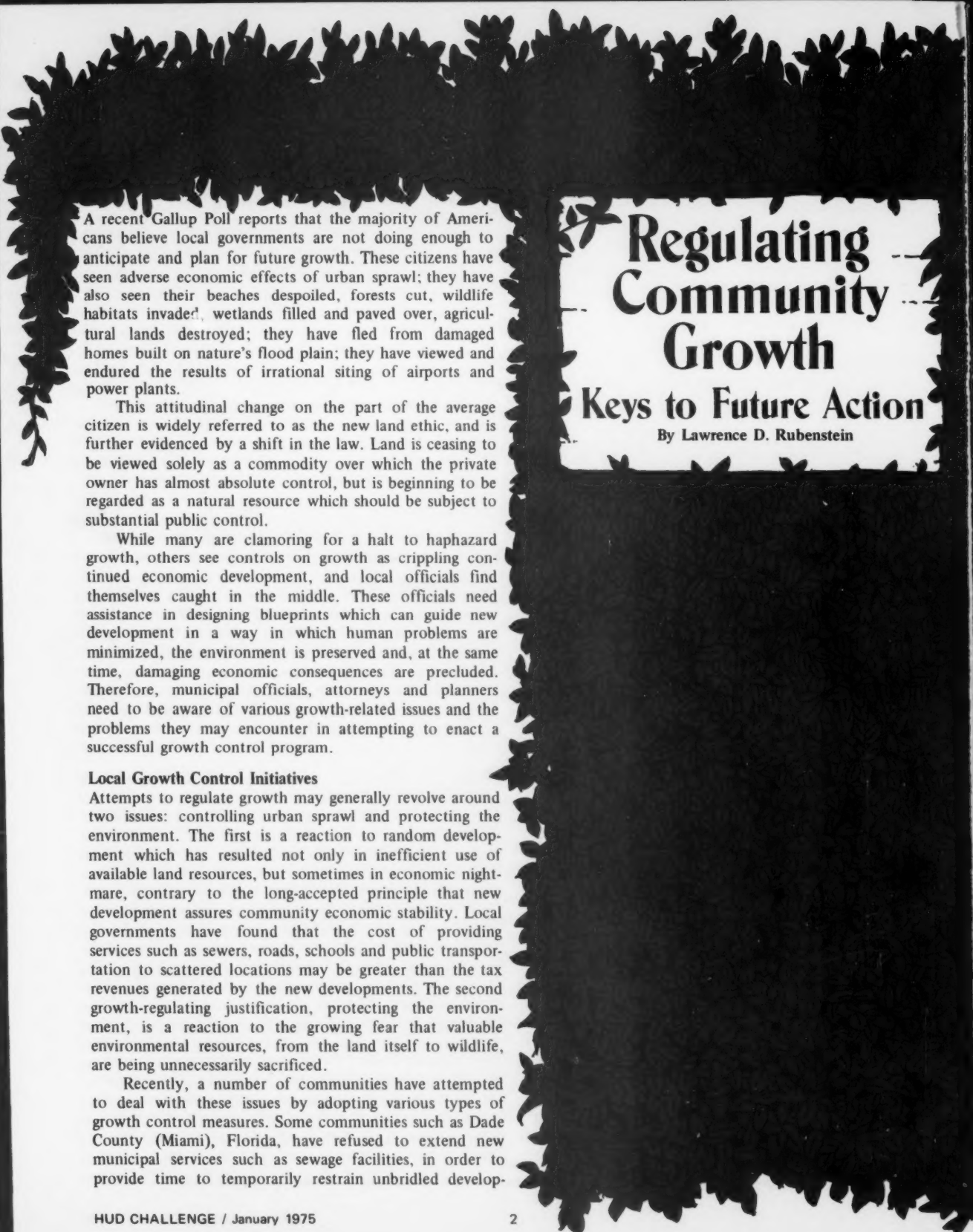
The land use plan adopted in November by Virginia's Prince William County looks to the preservation of the county's picturesque and productive farmland in rural and agricultural use; protection of critical environmental areas along waterways; and containment of commercial and residential sprawl. Prince William is one of the counties in the suburban ring of "bedroom" communities around Washington, D.C. In the 20 years since 1950 the county experienced a six-fold increase in population (from 22,000 to about 140,000) which has "severely strained" school, sewer, police and fire protection, and other municipal services. To lessen that strain the land use plan proposes expanding industrial development to increase tax income; and development of new housing at the rate of some 4,000 units per year between 1974 and 1980 (600 of them in rural and 3,400 in suburban areas of the county) where existing community facilities are adequate.

Housing Rehabilitation

A memorandum of understanding signed by HUD Secretary James Lynn, Michigan Governor Milliken, and Detroit Mayor Young will lead to a massive housing rehabilitation and neighborhood improvement program in Northwest Detroit where up to 1,000 HUD-owned single family houses will be rehabilitated and made available to low and moderate-income families.

Taylor, Michigan

In Taylor, Michigan, a large suburb of Detroit, Mayor Richard S. Marshall has agreed on behalf of his city to lease 100 federally-owned houses after they are rehabilitated by HUD and organize management of the dwellings, sub-leasing them or renting them with option to buy. Rehabilitation work is scheduled to get underway in February, and the first of the housing units, located in the Dover Estates subdivision, are expected to be ready for occupancy next spring. The houses are three and four-bedroom units which in 1970 cost between \$21,000 and \$24,000. In addition to assuming responsibility for the houses, Mayor Marshall also committed the city's resources to improving socio-economic conditions in the Dover Estates, in part through increased recreation facilities, better and more responsive fire and police protection and other municipal services for residents. Upgrading the area should result in restoring lost confidence and economic vitality in an area where HUD-assisted housing in default is having a negative impact on remaining residents.



A recent Gallup Poll reports that the majority of Americans believe local governments are not doing enough to anticipate and plan for future growth. These citizens have seen adverse economic effects of urban sprawl; they have also seen their beaches despoiled, forests cut, wildlife habitats invaded, wetlands filled and paved over, agricultural lands destroyed; they have fled from damaged homes built on nature's flood plain; they have viewed and endured the results of irrational siting of airports and power plants.

This attitudinal change on the part of the average citizen is widely referred to as the new land ethic, and is further evidenced by a shift in the law. Land is ceasing to be viewed solely as a commodity over which the private owner has almost absolute control, but is beginning to be regarded as a natural resource which should be subject to substantial public control.

While many are clamoring for a halt to haphazard growth, others see controls on growth as crippling continued economic development, and local officials find themselves caught in the middle. These officials need assistance in designing blueprints which can guide new development in a way in which human problems are minimized, the environment is preserved and, at the same time, damaging economic consequences are precluded. Therefore, municipal officials, attorneys and planners need to be aware of various growth-related issues and the problems they may encounter in attempting to enact a successful growth control program.

Local Growth Control Initiatives


Attempts to regulate growth may generally revolve around two issues: controlling urban sprawl and protecting the environment. The first is a reaction to random development which has resulted not only in inefficient use of available land resources, but sometimes in economic nightmare, contrary to the long-accepted principle that new development assures community economic stability. Local governments have found that the cost of providing services such as sewers, roads, schools and public transportation to scattered locations may be greater than the tax revenues generated by the new developments. The second growth-regulating justification, protecting the environment, is a reaction to the growing fear that valuable environmental resources, from the land itself to wildlife, are being unnecessarily sacrificed.

Recently, a number of communities have attempted to deal with these issues by adopting various types of growth control measures. Some communities such as Dade County (Miami), Florida, have refused to extend new municipal services such as sewage facilities, in order to provide time to temporarily restrain unbridled develop-

Regulating Community Growth

Keys to Future Action

By Lawrence D. Rubenstein



ment while searching for a more permanent design to hold growth to manageable limits. Other localities have adopted building moratoria, such as that enacted by the Washington, D.C., suburb of Fairfax County, Virginia. Still others have resorted to purchasing and "land banking" endangered land, in order to better direct future land use patterns.

Ramapo, New York

Probably the most widely-noted growth control measure is the development timing ordinance of Ramapo, New York. Ramapo, situated about 30 miles north of New York City, first completed a master plan and long-range capital budgets, and then adopted a zoning ordinance. The new ordinance based a developer's right to build upon the availability of municipal services. According to the budget projections, some of these services would not be available for as long as 18 years. Ramapo devised a point system, which required an applicant to attain at least 15 points before he could be granted a permit. The points depend upon the availability and proximity of the following services: sewers, roads, drainage facilities, firehouses, parks or recreation facilities, and schools.

The Ramapo approach generated much controversy but was ultimately upheld in 1972 by the New York State Court of Appeals in the case of *Golden v. Planning Board of Ramapo*, 334 N.Y.S. 2d 138, 285 N.E. 2d 291. The court noted that development was not totally prohibited, but merely deferred with a property tax adjustment; that a developer could provide the requisite services himself where the municipality had not as yet done so; and that the ordinance was not exclusionary since the town required that a certain portion of new housing would be for low-income persons.

Growth control advocates had mixed reactions to the Ramapo decision. The decision was hailed by some who viewed Ramapo as an effective blueprint for managing growth. However, it was also viewed by others as not limiting growth, but merely spreading inevitable development over a longer period of time.

Other Plans Adopted

Another method of controlling growth is an attempt to set population limits. Boca Raton, a city of close to 50,000 people located north of Miami, amended its charter by designating a cap of 40,000 housing units, thereby establishing a population limit of approximately 100,000. Petaluma, California, adopted a limit of 500 new dwelling units per year, together with substantial requirements for developers to contribute to essential services. However, a United States District Court struck down the Petaluma approach in *Construction Industry*

Association of Sonoma County v. City of Petaluma, 375 F. Supp. 574 (1974), finding that the city's action violated the constitutional "right to travel" by preventing individuals from freely settling in Petaluma. The court

"While many are clamoring for a halt to haphazard growth, others see controls on growth as crippling continued economic development, and local officials find themselves caught in the middle."

stated that the regulation of population growth "numerically" is invalid, that the city had contracted for a smaller water supply that was actually available, and that the city's approach did not sufficiently consider regional housing needs.

A more direct environmentally-related control was adopted by Marinette County, Wisconsin. The county enacted a Shoreland Zoning Ordinance which restricted the filling of wetlands to nonstructural uses such as certain types of farming, hunting, fishing and golfing. A property owner brought a law suit, claiming that the restrictions imposed on the use of his land amounted to an unconstitutional taking of land without just compensation. However, the Wisconsin Supreme Court, in *Just v. Marinette County*, 56 Wis. 2d 7, 201 N.W. 2d 761 (1972), found that a locality could utilize its delegated police power in order to preserve land in its ecologically critical "natural state," even though an individual property owner's land value may be seriously diminished. The court's decision said, "The changing of wetlands and swamps to the damage of the general public by upsetting the natural environment and the natural relationship is not a reasonable use of that land which is protected from police power regulation."

State and Federal Initiatives

A number of States, as well as the Federal Government, have enacted growth control measures largely in response to local failure to do so. Hawaii zoned the entire State into four districts: urban, rural, agricultural and conservation. Florida and New York took certain environmentally critical areas out of local control and essentially gave the regulatory rights over those areas to new State agencies. The State of California designated a 1,000 yard zone along the coastline as an area for which all proposed development would be subject to substantial State review.

At the Federal level, the recently-enacted Coastal Zone Management Act provides substantial funds to States in order that they may engage in the planning

necessary to assure prudent growth in coastal areas. The most comprehensive Federal approach yet proposed, the so-called National Land Use Bill, was enacted by the Senate but defeated in the House, and will probably not be reconsidered until next year's legislative session. The bill calls for land use controls over areas of "critical

"Attempts to regulate growth may generally revolve around two issues: controlling urban sprawl and protecting the environment."

environmental importance," including those areas having more than local significance.

Keys to Successful Action

Ultimately, growth controls may be adopted and administered at regional levels so that factors which transcend local boundaries are adequately considered, such as water-course locations and regional housing and transportation needs. However, the experience with the problems of community growth indicates a crucial need for local governments to take steps now to plan and regulate future growth. In order that such attempts may have a better chance to withstand critical review, including legal challenges, communities should sufficiently address a number of important issues in drafting any growth control mechanism.

First, there must be a sound data base for any plan devised. The data base must consider environmental factors, existing land use configurations, and may include a comprehensive plan, capital budgets and even a computerized land use assesment. Fairfax County, Virginia, combined all of these techniques into PLUS, Planning and Land Use System, in an attempt to utilize knowledge necessary in enacting a long-range growth regulating measure.

"The experience with the problems of community growth indicates a crucial need for local governments to take steps now to plan and regulate future growth."


Second, citizen participation is essential to a successful growth control approach. Citizens must be instrumental in determining existing land use needs and in choosing the nature and extent of future growth patterns. An excellent example is again provided by Fairfax County. It sponsored regular citizen workshops and public television forums as means of assuring citizen education and input.

Third, the respective State enabling legislation

concerning policy power regulations should be adequately considered. Such legislation will give the community guidance as to the types of measures available for the regulation of future development and set forth necessary procedural requirements. In some States, local authority to adopt regulations stems from a general State grant, while in other States statutes allow specifically for particular types of controls, such as for environmental purposes. Since, however, growth problems have surfaced comparatively recently, it may be necessary to chart new State legislation. A number of States have now established environmental planning agencies with whom local communities can consult.

Fourth, the growth-regulating instrument must not be exclusionary. A rational solution to overcome the charge of exclusion is adoption of a regional approach. In the interim, however, a municipality's best approach may be to provide for low income housing units concurrently with the adoption of the growth control mechanism. Additionally, the use of a technique such as cluster development may allow for growth, not result in economically damaging and esthetically-objectionable sprawl, and still enable other areas to remain for more open space purposes.

Fifth, care must be taken in drafting any land use control measure that the instrument does not constitute an unconstitutional taking of land without just compensation. The courts have generally upheld a local ordinance which may result in a diminution of a property owner's land value as long as the public interest that is protected is overriding and as long as the property owner may still derive some reasonable economic use from his land. In the Marinette County example noted above, the local ordinance's purpose was intentionally worded so as to clearly indicate the essential need for public protection, and the particular standards of the ordinance were carefully drawn so as not to deny a property owner all use of his land.

The new land ethic has generated some growth control efforts at the local, State and Federal levels. It resulted recently in the United States Supreme Court decision in *Village of Belle Terre v. Borass*, —U.S.—, 94 S. Ct. 1536, 39 L. Ed. 797 (1974). The court stated, "The police power is not confined to elimination of filth, stench, and unhealthy places. It is ample to lay out zones where family values, and the blessings of quiet seclusion and clean air make the area a sanctuary for people." Now it is incumbent upon communities to take further initiatives in assuring that the new land ethic is translated into positive action which may ease the human difficulties associated with haphazard growth and preserve the land as a valuable natural resource. 

Mr. Rubenstein is Chief of the Land Use Policy Branch in the Federal Insurance Administration's Flood Plain Management Division.

New Towns in the United Kingdom



Management of population growth in large British cities is achieved through "overspill agreements" and the creation of new towns. Overspill agreements arrange for planned, voluntary transfers of population and industry under the Town Development Act of 1952, between local authorities of large industrial cities without enough land for population growth and near-by towns.

By September 1968, 30 areas had been designated as new towns in Great Britain. These areas are comprehensively planned new communities which provide for housing, employment, and social and cultural amenities. Their primary purpose is to relieve congestion in London and other conurbations, but a few are designed to provide homes and urban services for people working in existing industry in the vicinity of the town.

New town areas are designated by the Department of the Environment (formerly the Ministry of Housing and Local Government) which appoints a development corporation which is financed by advances from the Exchequer. Appointments to the corporation are made after consultation with local authorities concerned with the development of the new town, and include persons with a wide span of knowledge. Each corporation has its own staff which includes architects, engineers, and management and finance personnel. Although the development corporation does not come under the jurisdiction of local governments, particular attention is paid to establishing good working relations with the local authorities.

The corporation is responsible for preparing a master plan—work is usually contracted to a private consultant. Main features of the plan are

the town center or central business district which contains shops, offices, and public buildings; recreational and other open space areas; residential neighborhoods; traffic systems and other infrastructure; and social and cultural amenities. Plans for the new communities are varied, but most—and especially the earlier ones—are based on the neighborhood concept of planning. Under this system, the community is divided into a number of separate residential districts or neighborhoods, each with its own shops, schools, community center, etc. An internal system of roads connects the districts with each other, with the industrial areas, and with the town center. The purpose is to provide a means of supplying services while, at the same time, fostering a feeling of belonging among residents.

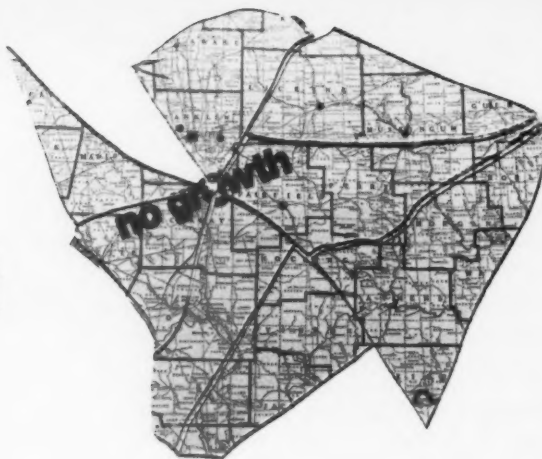
Corporations have compulsory power to acquire all land within the designated area, but in practice this is not done. Land is usually purchased by agreement, or the private land owner is allowed to develop his land within the limitations of the master plan.

Original legislation provided for local authorities to take control of a new town once development was substantially complete. In 1959, however, the New Town Act created a Commission for New Towns to supervise the final stages of a town's development, and the power of the corporation to transfer assets to the local authorities was repealed. By 1968, four new towns—Crawley, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, and Welwyn—had come under the jurisdiction of the Commission. The Commission has the duty of "maintaining and enhancing the value of the land and properties held by it, subject always to the purposes for which the

towns were designated and to the convenience and welfare of the people living, working, or carrying on business there." The assets and liabilities of the development corporation are transferred to the Commission, which is essentially an estate management body. The Commission may buy land by agreement, but does not have compulsory purchase; nor is it exempt from ordinary planning control. It may not sell freeholds, nor grant leases for longer than 99 years, nor develop land without ministerial permission. ©

New Communities in Great Britain	Year of Designation	Ultimate Population as Presently Planned
ENGLAND		
Crawley	1947	75,000
Hatfield	1948	29,000
Hemel Hempstead	1947	80,000
Welwyn Garden City	1948	50,000
Stevenage	1946	100,000
Harlow	1947	90,000
Basildon	1947	140,000
Bracknell	1949	60,000
Corby	1950	83,000
Aycliffe	1947	45,000
Peterlee	1948	30,000
Skelmersdale	1961	80,000
Redditch	1964	90,000
Runcorn	1964	100,000
Washington	1964	80,000
Milton Keynes	1967	250,000
Northampton	1968	230,000
Peterborough	1967	190,000
Telford	1968	220,000
Warrington	1968	205,000
Central Lancashire NT	1970	430,000
SCOTLAND		
East Kilbride	1947	100,000
Glenrothes	1948	70,000
Cumbernauld	1955	90,000
Livingstone	1962	100,000
Irvine	1966	120,000
WALES		
Cwmbran	1949	55,000
Newtown	1967	13,000

Transferable Development Rights



By Audrey Moore

As the housing needs for a growing population create a demand around our cities, threatening remaining forests and farms, communities throughout the country have become aroused to demand more rationally planned use of the land. At the same time, the obvious inability to implement land-use policy has produced a "no growth" backlash that has contributed little to real reform. Municipal attorneys, pressured to convert zoning laws into comprehensive controls, have conjured up amendments which the courts have just as rapidly struck down. While havoc has been created within the housing industry, land continues to be abused.

Some have reacted to this phenomenon by lobbying to transfer regulatory power to the States without, however, attempting to reform the regulatory device. Escaping from the immediate electorate may thwart effective development opposition temporarily, but as the State's inability to plan becomes evident, discontent among the voters will be further aggravated, thus encouraging those who would put government in the development business. It is of paramount importance that we protect our private enterprise system which has made the United States the world's leader in providing good housing at low cost. We would be wise to use this time of inflation and economic slowdown to scrutinize zoning law with an eye to reform or replacement.

There are, of course, those who would not agree. They argue that when the public accepts the concept of land as a resource rather than a commodity and more logic and reason undergird regulation, planning will succeed. Advocates of this position believe government has more power to "take" through regulation than our democratic concepts have led us to believe. Should the courts enforce this position, government may be able to prohibit, by regulation, the conversion of wetlands needed for fish production and safeguard other environmental areas critical to human life.

"Our challenge is to find a system which provides equity in taxation and use to all landowners. I believe Transferable Development Rights meets this need."

It is doubtful, however, that this approach will aid suburban planners where no single incident of change in land use is likely to pose a clear threat to the public health, welfare and safety. In suburbia, it is the sum total of many alterations to the character of large areas that produces environmental and social problems.

A re-examination of the concept and principle underlying the zoning

map illustrates the dilemma for the zoner and the court. Theoretically, land is zoned to prevent congestion and incompatible uses. Practically applied, wealth is created for some landowners, to the detriment of others, while real property taxation bears no relationship to the zoning map.

Transferable Development Rights

Our challenge is to find a system which provides equity in taxation and use to all landowners. I believe Transferable Development Rights meets this need.

Transferable Development Rights (TDR), an Americanized version of the relatively new English system, is based on the principle that ownership of land is essentially the totality of numerous rights to use land. Under TDR, present land use and future land use are separated, by law, into separate properties. The approach offered here is based on my belief that potentially harmful mistakes in the use of land will be fewer if the free market rather than government makes decisions about lifestyle, provided, of course, that adverse economic incentives are removed, planning criteria are established and there are overall controls on the fundamentals of gross density and use.

Rights Retained

A pool of residential and commercial development rights, determined by an adopted community plan, is divided equally among all landowners accord-

ing to the number of acres they own. Landowners, of course, retain title to the farm or conservation rights to their land.

Briefly, in order to totally implement TDR, the community would:

- Adopt a plan projecting residential, commercial and industrial use in dwelling units or square footage.

- Determine development rights required for different uses. (Public facility use would require no rights.)

- Adopt new site plan ordinance with planning criteria, i.e., adequate public facility requirements, curb cut restrictions on major highways, requirements for buffering, etc.

Assign each property owner his share of rights in each use category, subtracting existing or vested development.

To initiate private development, the required number of rights for the proposed development would be filed with a site plan, meeting all criteria of the site plan ordinance.

If the applicant had not received, in the original distribution, sufficient rights for his proposed development, it would be necessary for him to buy the additional rights on the open market. Thus, the system also provides compensation to the landowner who keeps his land undeveloped.

To protect the integrity of the system, should the community, at a later time, desire to allow more development than originally planned, a new plan must be adopted with the additional rights distributed only to owners of development rights.

Advantage of this Approach

There is no doubt that such proposed total change will require the State's involvement in substitutions for the Standard Code. However, there are many advantages to total reform over partial change, not the least of which is the greater likelihood of successful court tests. In addition, the market value of undeveloped land under TDR would not reflect development potential; therefore real estate taxes on open land would be reduced. This beneficial effect on taxation equity, combined with the compensatory features of the system, which operates

without cost to the taxpayer, should allow for improved political and judicial support of community control on the ordering and timing of development.

"Transferable Development Rights...is based on the principle that ownership of land is essentially the totality of numerous rights to use land."

Planning is more likely to reflect the public interest when the extremes of differential value are removed. Public facility uses would not require the filing of development rights, thus allowing the acquisition of badly needed open space and transportation rights-of-way at a fraction of today's land values. Since government would also share in the distribution of development rights, it would also be able to recapture for the public, the high prices previously paid for public land.

Developers would be relieved of the expensive, time consuming process of zoning. New site plan regulations should allow for more even-handed and objective enforcement of the law. A population target should simplify planning of public facilities. TDR would undoubtedly also lessen the opportunities for exclusion.

"Acceptance and implementation of new concepts that depart from tradition always require time, but time is running out."

This approach should allow for the kind of planning which has made new towns such as Reston, Virginia, so popular. Just as importantly, it also allows for the participation of the small developer as well as the large corporations, while achieving public policy.

Realistically, however, it is more likely that for the near future our present system will be modified to partially eliminate the tremendous differential of land values resulting from governmental regulation. Vermont's capital gains taxes have had this effect.

Effects on Zoning

The TDR principle can also be applied to present zoning ordinances to modify values. Multifamily zoning districts could be amended, for instance, to allow a limited number of dwelling units by right, allowing a maximum additional number of units if easements or fee title to land planned for preservation were dedicated to the community. These lands could include farmland, recreation areas for the benefit of the immediate multifamily development, or other conservation areas.

For example, John Costonis has proposed that TDR be used to preserve historic sites on the Chicago Loop and open space in Puerto Rico, while B. Budd Chavooshian has proposed the use of TDR to preserve open space in New Jersey.

In devising modifications of TDR, one should avoid putting government in the business of setting prices on rights and restricting the use of TDR to such a small portion of a geographic market area that the system will not be used at all or will be subject to attack on the grounds of equal protection or exclusion.

Acceptance and implementation of new concepts that depart from tradition always require time, but time is running out. The growing imbalance between population and natural resources on the one hand, and the pressing need for new community development on the other, lends an urgency to constructive change in land use regulation.

A test of our ability to adapt to fundamentally changing conditions may be the adequacy and promptness with which we find solutions to the imperfections in United States land use law.

Ms. Moore is a member of the Board of Supervisors, Fairfax County, Va.

a cooperative effort fights fear

It has been stated that the fear of strangers is impoverishing the lives of many Americans. Residents of public housing are no different. People stay behind locked doors of their homes rather than walk in the projects at night. Tenant council meetings are poorly attended because of these conditions. Sociable tenants are afraid to talk to those they do not know.

When people stay at home they are not enjoying pleasurable and cultural opportunities in their communities; they are not visiting their friends as frequently as they might. The general level of sociability is diminished, their earning opportunities restricted, and community participation minimal.

The elderly are further isolated from resources of the community. As social interaction is reduced the fear of crime becomes the fear of the stranger. It is to this problem, the Personal Self-Defense Program addresses itself.

Adaline B., 75 (a fictitious name and age for the composite members of the group) until 3 months ago, was afraid for her own safety when she left the protective walls of Millvue Acres, a 130-unit family-type housing project managed by the Allegheny County (Pa.) Housing Authority. She and 14 other senior citizens who have been meeting for the past 3 months at Millvue Acres in Clairton, Pa., now are a hundred times less fearful because of their mastery of self-defense skills taught by the South Campus of the Community College of Allegheny County in cooperation with the Allegheny County Housing Authority.

"Each of the 15 people who participated regained lost self-esteem, became more agile, and, as a result, less fearful of the real world," said Thomas Wilson, physical education director at the South Campus. "But that is only a part of what the program accomplished," he added.

Adaline and the other people involved—14 women and one man—had lost their self-esteem through self-imposed isolation from the general population. They became more fearful of the outside world from the necessarily imposed security measures required to make living conditions safe for them. Their isolated living made them less physically active and, in time, less capable of moving about on their feet as in the past.

"The purpose of the program isn't to supplant any security measures which have been implemented to make living conditions safe," Mr. Wilson said; "it is to supplement these measures by making the aging feel that they

have a part in the management and enjoyment of their lives."

Doing away with the fear of crime against their persons was a major goal of the program. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to teach skills to minimize the physical and psychological impact of crimes against the person and property of the aging as well as deal with fear itself.

David W. Craig, at the recent ceremonies at South Campus for the first graduates of the program, pointed out, "The crime statistics at Millvue Acres are no higher than the crime incidence in the surrounding community. The fear of crime is two to three times greater than the incidence of crime. This is generally true in all communities." Mr. Craig, an attorney, is Pittsburgh's former Director of Public Safety.

Most meaningful of all is the response of the new graduates who received certificates for their work. All of them have a surer step; their eyes are brighter, they are newly enthusiastic about life.

"Old people have to have something to do or they just melt away," one of the class members candidly said.

"That's certainly a lively group at Millvue Acres," declared JoAnn Stoops, home economist, working in an outreach program for the South Campus. Three months ago, Mrs. Stoops wouldn't have made that statement. Then, some class members had difficulty maintaining balance for the simple physical movements employed at the beginning of the physical phase of the program. Week by week, however, their abilities increased and their enjoyment in participating took wing.

Measurement of their improvement must be by relative standards. A 70-year-old woman who suffered a stroke 6 years ago can't run a mile or jump a 2-foot hurdle. But she is far from being as dependent on a cane as she was 3 months ago.

How Program Began

The pilot program resulted from talks between George L. Adams, Human Services Director of the Allegheny County Housing Authority, and Lois J. Delahan, Assistant Director of Community Services for the South Campus of the Community College. Both Mr. Adams and Mrs. Delahan were searching for a method to engage the aging in helping themselves. They conceived the program and called upon Mr. Wilson to help design and teach it.

The program teaches the aging three skills:

- how to recognize potentially dangerous situations and how to avoid them;



Residents learn techniques of thwarting physical attacks.

- how to manage potentially dangerous situations when they cannot be avoided;

- how to execute simple defensive moves within the physical capabilities of the aging if the first two skills are ineffective.

Responding to Danger

An example of a response to a threat of forced entry into an apartment could take two measures, either of which would be effective: The occupant should turn the radio up loud or blow a whistle. Learning to respond to these signals is an integral part of the training.

While the women enjoy the physical part of the program most, it is hoped they have learned skills which will keep them from having to use such physical techniques.

Wilson makes the point that a woman should never carry a purse dangling from an arm—she could suffer a broken arm if confronted by an assailant. Instead, the purse should be clasped in her arms. If an attacker wants the purse badly enough to try to take it—give it to him! Mr. Wilson stressed that “not fighting, not resisting, takes as much psychological preparation as learning when to resist.”

Often, a potential assailant is as frightened as his victim, and, if one displays a lack of fear, that alone may scare him off. Some of the physical self-defense tactics taught include jabbing a key in the mugger's eye, kicking him in the shins, or hitting him in the groin with an elbow.

Several Teaching Approaches

Several approaches are utilized in teaching the course in personal self-defense and security training. One is psychological preparation in the form of role playing—assuming the roles of potential victims and assailants. There is practice in simple defensive and offensive moves and combinations of moves. Film and slide presentations were made to stimulate discussion of the various methods by which given situations or environments could be handled. Experiences in elevators, narrow sidewalks with recessed doorways, an open door when returning home and others were discussed. Each session concentrated on one aspect of the program, but each one also contained reinforcement of the basic skills. This assured that each session included a brief period of physical activity and a reminder of the individual's responsibility for more than himself. The motto, “I am my brother's keeper,” applies.

At the close of the course Wilson conducted a demonstration attended by local officials and HUD Area Office personnel, which emphasized that a good security program requires a combination of both hardware and software elements.

Security Reinforced

Through the modernization program many of the units in

the Allegheny County Housing Authority projects have been improved by the addition of new windows, doors and lighting features which have enhanced security. However, no amount of locks, bolts and other hardware can give individuals a feeling of security when they leave their units for shopping, church attendance, or a simple walk in the neighborhood.

“The program developed for the residents of Millvue Acres has complemented the physical improvements of the modernization program. Without Mr. Wilson's help these elderly residents could be prisoners in physically secure dwellings. Through his assistance they now have the freedom to live their lives more humanly,” said Paul C. Steimer, HUD Area Office Director of Housing Management.

Security training and programming have assumed special priority under the direction of H.R. Crawford, HUD's Assistant Secretary for Housing Management. Under his administration, security, both physical and personal, is seen as an integral tool for the effective management of projects for low-income residents.

Techniques Transferable

James W. Knox, Executive Director of The Allegheny County Housing Authority, believes this program to be one which can be assimilated into the programs of other housing authorities and communities housing low-income elderly and families. Senior citizens, teen-agers, and young adults can take part in the program. Training sessions can be fun as well as productive, he says. “The program is a way of reaching out, of getting residents interested in their surroundings, their neighbors, their community.”

Mr. Knox feels that the pilot self-defense program developed through the cooperation of HUD officials, Allegheny County Housing Authority staff members, South Campus of the Community College of Allegheny County personnel, and residents shows what can be done to improve the living conditions of public housing residents when people with a common objective become involved. “I think everyone, from top to bottom, can take pride in what we have done at Millvue Acres,” Mr. Knox said.

Mrs. Bernice Jones, a resident of Millvue Acres and an adviser for the self-defense program, summed it up best when she said: “This is the kind of program public housing residents need most. It brings together people with a variety of backgrounds, and focuses attention on a problem that concerns every American today. It's a great feeling to be involved and to work with people in fostering a sense of security, pride and good will.”

*—Community College of Allegheny County
Allegheny County Housing Authority*



Is Growth Good?

By Duane Searles

As this country nears its bicentennial birthday, more and more Americans are becoming inextricably involved in one of today's major issues—the desirability of growth. Arguments on growth have been loudly, and even redundantly, stated. Without entering into a dialogue on growth vs. limits—and admittedly begging the question for the moment—let us begin from a point at which there is no dispute.

Regardless of one's attitudes toward a zero population growth rate, birth control, population redistribution, economic growth, the environ-

ment, energy consumption—and fuel resources, one inescapable conclusion remains; “no-growth is simply not a viable option for the country in the remainder of this century.”¹ It has been estimated that the fertility rate can remain at the present replacement level for 75 years before actual population growth would stop. Moreover, the household formation rate until 1985 will be one-third greater than the rate from 1969 to 1970.²

A second, concomitant conclusion, therefore, is that the housing requirements of this Nation for the re-

mainder of the decade and well into the 1980's will be greater than ever before in our history. This fact is irrefutable regardless of the basic data source: National Association of Home Builders (an obvious private interest group), *The Use of Land: A Citizen's Policy Guide to Urban Growth* (written by a task force funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation), and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University (from the land of academe).

For example, in releasing its study

the Joint Center stated, "Our forecast of market need for 1970-1980 is 23 million units." Moreover, "We estimate that as of 1970, 13 million households—more than 20 percent of the Nation—suffered some form of serious housing deprivation." The significance of the 13 million figure becomes even greater in light of today's economy and its effect on housing production.

With respect to the social impact, the Joint Center study concluded by emphasizing "... the very large housing deficit our study has identified among the poor and those with moderate incomes. Our estimate of 13 million households suffering some form of housing deprivation is based on conservative measures, does not count neighborhood inadequacies, and excludes all families earning more than \$10,000 per year. It represents our failure so far to achieve the ambitious goal of 'a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family' which was enunciated in the Housing Act of 1949 and reiterated in the Housing Act of 1968."

Dire Housing Need

Simply stated, there is an existing and unfulfilled need for housing. Moreover, this need will become greater in the foreseeable future, greater than we have ever experienced. Why then are we expending considerable effort and resources to develop new and more sophisticated techniques to limit and restrict the construction of additional housing? Can we be serving the needs of the "public health, safety, and general welfare," a legal term which imposes a standard upon all communities to act responsibly? When our national housing needs are greater today than ever before can it be legitimately stated that our rate of growth and development has been too great in the past and, therefore, must be limited in the future?

What rational justification can be provided by local government when declaring a moratorium on development for the purpose of putting its own house in order. Where will the needed housing be constructed, particularly when neighboring communities take similar action?



Is growth a four-letter word?

When 13 million households (20 percent of the Nation) are suffering some form of housing deprivation, can we rationally impose additional taxes, fees, and other expenses on new development which invariably increase the cost of housing?

Finally, can we honestly declare our motive to be the preservation of the "quality of life" when the basic need for housing remains unfulfilled for many? Are we not, as the title of a Potomac Institute Report puts it, "Controlling Urban Growth—But For Whom?"³ The report concluded, "The Ramapo development timing ordinance is a potentially useful planning and regulatory device. In Ramapo, however, it is used in a way that in reality greatly limits the housing opportunities of lower income households."

Slowing Down Growth

The many who have begun to question the long standing, majority-held view that growth is good invariably conclude that the rate of growth must be slowed. While the language used may include such words as

"limit," "control," or "manage," the meaning is clear. The underlying motivation is an attitude that the pace of development has been too rapid in the past, far outstripping the ability of government to respond properly with adequate facilities and services. There is overwhelming concern about environmental degradation, inadequate community facilities and services, rising property taxes and the inability to finance the needed additional public improvements and services. The frustration which results encourages, and in many instances politically compels government to adopt measures which have the immediate effect of limiting the housing supply and increasing housing costs. Approval time is lengthened and in some instances purposely delayed. Development taxes and other charges are increased frequently to remedy past financial deficiencies. Land requirements are increased and even total moratoriums declared.

Whatever the purported remedy, the result is the same. Fewer houses with higher prices.

Housing in Short Supply

Despite three consecutive years of 2 million plus units of production, this Nation's basic housing needs remain unfulfilled. At present the housing industry is facing a money crisis which has substantially reduced its annual rate of production. Consequently, our housing needs are even greater than before. In addition the housing industry in many areas of the country is finding itself confronted with greater controls limiting suitable development sites and increased regulations causing even higher costs for new construction. One result? Larger numbers of families find it almost impossible to find housing where they want to live. And, if they do, the cost is often times prohibitive.

The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) believes that the Nation's housing requirements must

be met. Affirmative and realistic programs must be implemented by all levels of government. Even the most conservative estimates predict continued population growth well beyond the year 2000 and an increasing household formation rate until the 1980's. Additional people and additional households require additional

housing. This need must be fulfilled at the same time the environment is preserved. It is a realistic goal to which the thinkers and planners should be addressing themselves. ☛

Mr. Searles is Special Counsel on Growth and Environment, National Association of Home Builders.

Footnotes

1 *The Use of Land: A Citizen's Policy Guide to Urban Growth*, edited by William K. Reilly-Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973, p. 18. 2.

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STATEMENT OF POLICY LAND USE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Any land use policy must balance the basic human needs of a still expanding national population and legitimate environmental concerns. Within the framework, housing opportunities for Americans of all income levels must be enlarged and their right of mobility and freedom of choice assured.

Priorities must be set and mechanisms created at the local, state, and national levels for resolving land use issues at the lowest level which will produce rational and coordinated land use. We conceive the federal role to be in the area of broad policy; the state role to assure that local land decisions are regionally coordinated and in the broad public interest; and the local role to determine land use in accord with overall needs, encouraging housing for people of all incomes, races, and creeds.

Accordingly, any national legislation establishing broad national land use policy must accomplish the national housing goals and provide for loans and grants to applying states for coordinating, reconciling, and developing state and local land use policies.

The Federal Government should:

- Adopt the general principle that local real estate taxes would be relied upon primarily to meet real estate related services and that other tax sources would be relied upon to provide revenue for other public needs.

- Continue the present new communities program (Title VII) and institute a new federal program for small satellite communities which insures appropriate state and local cooperation and support.

- Give the highest priority to providing funds for sewage treatment and water purification.

- Provide a new comprehensive pro-

gram to encourage the development of cities socially, economically, and physically, relying heavily on incentives to private developers for redevelopment and rehabilitation.

- Act promptly to expand, conserve, regenerate, replenish, and supplement our natural resources essential in the production of energy and raw materials necessary to meet current and future growth needs; and further, to encourage development of adequate transportation and transmission systems for raw materials and energy.

At the state level we favor:

- Requiring that state and local governments anticipate future growth, provide funds for and build needed community facilities, and create new programs of aid to localities to provide such facilities.

Adoption of state housing goals.

Action to prevent localities from adopting excessive development standards that unnecessarily raise the cost of housing.

- Creation of an appropriate appeals mechanism capable of overriding locally any decisions that are designed to, or have the effect of, thwarting the fulfillment of housing needs.

State assumption of the major local share of the costs of education and use of real property taxes essentially for real estate-related services.

- State performance-oriented model codes, enabling legislation and technical help to regions and municipalities when needed to improve their capacity to deal with land use.

When areas of critical environmental concern or areas needed for open space requirements are acquired and/or reserved, the amount of land so acquired and/or reserved is directly related to the foregoing, and land owners are

compensated for land so acquired and/or reserved, and use restrictions are reviewed periodically. We vigorously oppose, as an unnecessary and unwarranted preemption of activities best performed by private enterprise, a governmental program of land acquisition for land banking not related to a program of public use. We also strongly oppose state-level approval of development.

At the local level we favor:

- Regional compacts to plan and coordinate those concerns of a regional nature (such as transportation, water management, regional sewer treatment) and to assure that common problems are solved on a regionally compatible basis.

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We shall continue vigorously to fight no-growth policies in all their manifestations including exclusionary and discriminatory zoning; limitations on approval to develop land or to build; needless delay in providing essential community services and facilities; and any and all other forms of limiting the attainment of housing goals or excluding certain economic, racial, or ethnic groups.

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HUD/OIC

By Everett H. Rothschild

On January 24, 1964, a unique organization was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: the Opportunities Industrialization Center. Today, the OIC is a worldwide organization controlling a large array of affiliate enterprises aimed at improving the lives of disadvantaged persons everywhere. To fully appreciate the impressive history and growth of OIC, one must understand the background of its founder and leader, Dr. Leon Sullivan.

West Virginia Poverty

Leon Sullivan was born and reared in poverty in Charleston, West Virginia. He knew heartbreak and prejudice early in life, having come from a broken home and never having known his real father. His mother ran an elevator, his stepfather swept the floors of a moviehouse; they lived their version of the black American nightmare in a dirt floor shack. By the eighth grade, he was a six-footer and his height and weight later helped him earn an athletic scholarship—played football and basketball. Upon graduation from West Virginia State, he studied theology and psychology at Union Theological Seminary and

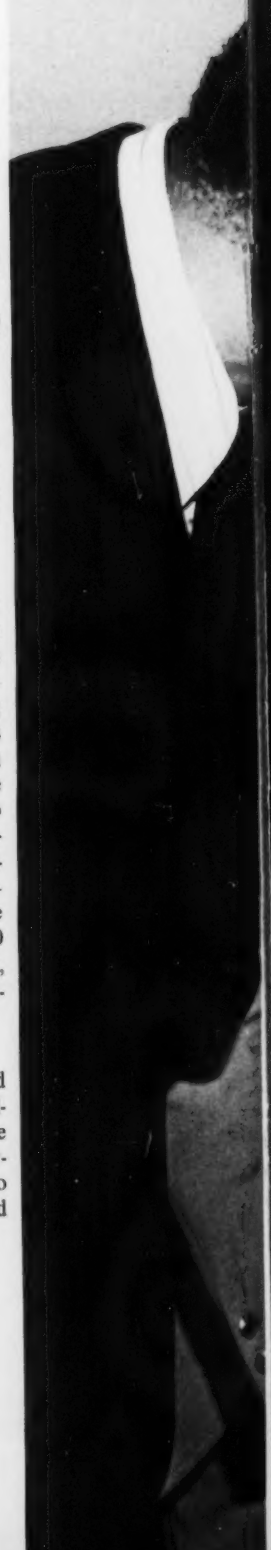
Columbia University. He returned to West Virginia as a Baptist minister and his reputation as a dynamic preacher soon gained him widespread recognition throughout Appalachia.

The Move to Harlem

While working with the NAACP in Charleston, he met the late Adam Clayton Powell and the friendship between these two charismatic individuals led to Dr. Sullivan's becoming assistant pastor at Reverend Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem and Sullivan's first lessons in the world of politics. After a move to South Orange, New Jersey, he accepted the pastorate of Philadelphia's oldest black Baptist Church—Zion Baptist. Within a few years he built the church from 400 to 5,000 members and attracted the mature, educated and wealthy of Philadelphia's black middle class.

The Selective Patronage Program

As an adjunct of his church and community efforts in North Philadelphia, Dr. Sullivan established the North Philadelphia Youth Employment Service, a program designed to take young people out of gangs and





Dr. Sullivan (left) and Mr. Crawford meet some of the 700 students attending classes at OIC headquarters in Philadelphia.

put them into jobs. The frustrations of this program led to the selective patronage program, and later a full-fledged boycott against firms in the city which refused to cooperate. As a result of the boycott, jobs for blacks began to slowly open up; in the early 60's, Dr. Sullivan's reputation as an active civil rights leader became firmly established. He was called upon to assist the late Dr. Martin Luther King in his Atlanta boycott. Sullivan learned quickly from these experiences, and he took his message of

in North Philadelphia, Progress Plaza, the largest shopping center of its kind owned by blacks in the United States.

OIC Training Program

Simultaneously, the Feeder Program was launched in an attempt to train predominantly black unskilled workers for clerical and blue collar jobs and an attitudinal improvement program was also developed. The City of Philadelphia supported the program by donating an abandoned police sta-

board member of General Motors.

Today, OIC operates in eight foreign countries and maintains over 100 offices in 46 cities in the United States. It has trained over 100,000 persons and placed 60,000 in jobs. The retention rate of OIC trainees ranges from 72 percent to 96 percent, far above the norm for such programs.

OIC and HUD

Shortly after being sworn in, HUD Assistant Secretary for Housing Management, H.R. Crawford, recognizing the contribution that OIC had made to minority opportunities, began negotiations which have produced a number of joint OIC/HUD activities. As one result of his initiatives, Progress Painters, Inc., an OIC affiliate, received contracts for the removal of lead-based paint from HUD-owned properties in Philadelphia in the spring of 1974. Last summer, the first 10 HUD-owned properties were sold to the Zion Non-Profit Charitable Trust for rehabilitation and resale to low-income families. In September, Assistant Secretary Crawford pledged that another 100 HUD-owned properties in Philadelphia would be made available to support OIC's program. Moreover, if these efforts proved successful, Mr. Crawford assured Dr. Sullivan that HUD would cooperate in a nationwide program wherein OIC would acquire, repair and sell HUD-owned properties. Recently, HUD has begun working with OIC to develop a program of acquiring and managing multifamily properties owned by the Department, particularly those in need of intensive social services.

The creation and success of OIC have not been without disappointments or frustration, but OIC has shown that it can improve the economic and housing opportunities for low-income families and the underprivileged. Today, OIC and HUD are forging a partnership aimed at accomplishing their mutual goals. ©

Mr. Rothschild is a special assistant in the HUD Office of Housing Management.



black economic power to the parishioners of Zion Baptist. He preached the need for ownership and a piece of the action. In 1965, he founded Zion Investment Associates and his now famous 10-36 program was created. The 10-36 plan required each member of the congregation to give him \$10 every month for 36 months, the total to be invested in real estate or black enterprises in North Philadelphia. Using these funds as seed money, the associates built Zion Gardens, a large apartment complex

tion to the newly created OIC, and with the backing of the Zion 10-36 plan, and small Federal grants, OIC's program and reputation began to grow. Remarkably, OIC was able to train and place a person at a cost of \$850 in contrast to the \$1,500 to \$2,000 that other manpower delivery systems require. By 1967, national concern for black job training led Dr. Sullivan into a close working relationship with such industrial giants as General Electric and General Motors, and he later became the first black

Recognizing the inadequacy of Federal criteria for designating urban-rural and metro-nonmetro areas, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has devised a new framework for classifying the U.S. population based on the degree of urban influence. The new classifications take into account the fact that almost all U.S. counties have both urban and rural components.

A recent report on "Gasoline Usage and the Poor" concludes that a third of all gasoline consumed from spring 1972 to spring 1973 was used in cars owned by households whose incomes totalled \$16,000 or higher. The poor, according to the study conducted by the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, are more likely than others to use cars for essential travel, such as commuting to work.

The maximum interest rate for mobile home loans was increased from 11.25 percent to 12 percent effective September 12.

Grants totalling \$160,000 have been awarded three universities in Florida by the State Department of Community Affairs for establishment of three regional housing centers. The grants, intended to fund research and activities in housing management, went to Florida A & M University in Tallahassee, University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, and Florida International University in Miami. Activities under the grants will interrelate with existing management programs including the HUD-sponsored Management Improvement Program and the Target Projects Program. Further inquiries should be addressed to Tom Lewis, Chief, Bureau of Housing Assistance, Division of Technical Assistance, Department of Community Affairs, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Nominations are being requested for the 1975/76 President's Executive Interchange Program, which gives Federal executives, as well as private sector executives, an opportunity to work in challenging positions in the other sector for a one-year period. Candidates are selected from the career services in grades GS-13 and above. Interested HUD employees should contact: Executive Manpower Div., in Headquarters; Private sector executives should contact the President's Commission, 19th & E Sts. N.W., Washington, D.C.

R. Harold Denton has been appointed Executive Assistant Commissioner, Housing Production and Mortgage Credit. Mr. Denton will assist in formulating, administering and monitoring basic policy.

Two newly appointed Area Office Directors in Region II are Patricia Hampton, appointed director of the Camden, New Jersey, office and J. Raymond Watson, named director of the San Juan office.

Traditional attitudes toward open space and recreational facilities are challenged in a HUD-funded study prepared by the National Recreation and Park Association. The study finds that homogeneous standards accepted over the years, suggesting specific number of acres of open space per capita in inner-city areas, are no longer relevant. It concludes that just as important as the amount of open space are such factors as location, programs conducted, responsiveness of the personnel who run it, the physical condition of the space and its accessibility.

An increase in operating subsidies to \$450 million and an additional \$215 million for capital improvements for low rent public housing projects were announced recently for the current fiscal year. Federal operating subsidies are used by local housing authorities to make up the difference between the cost of operating projects and the rents paid by tenants.

Smaller families, high levels of mobility, and high housing costs have greatly increased the market for multifamily housing and its attractiveness for developers according to a recently published HUD-funded report. The report, *Housing and Suburbs: the Fiscal and Social Impact of Multifamily Development*, is the result of interviews with more than 100 local elected officials, 4,000 household surveys and numerous case studies of single-family, townhouse, garden apartment and high-rise projects.

The use of mobile homes is part of the effort by HUD under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act to make housing available for low-income families. FHA insures mobile home loans up to \$15,000 for 15 years for double wide units. This program has been broadened so that these loans may be included in the mortgage-backed securities activity of the Government National Mortgage Association (GNMA).

Choices for '76

What DOES the Public Want ?

By William B. Shore

Regional Plan Association is a voluntary citizens' organization supported by individual memberships, corporate subscriptions, foundation and government grants. The association researches and advances programs to improve the environmental, economic, and social conditions of the 31-county New Jersey-New York-Connecticut Urban Region.

Regional and county planners, for the most part, guess public preferences on the basis of projections of present behavior; opinion polls; open hearings; advisory committees. All of these—even in conjunction—are inadequate.

The perfect public participation process, however, will never exist, but after 14 years of public participation experiments, the Regional Plan Association can cite some essentials. The first is identifying the questions to ask the public (as distinct from questions to ask experts on various subjects and techniques); the second is to present the information in a way that will stimulate informed public response. These are far more difficult tasks than most people seem to realize. We would not recommend delegating the job to a professional writer, who is unfamiliar with the planning process as it has unfolded and who has not been deeply concerned about democratic practices and the role of this process in the whole decision-making stage of planning.

So much for the process; how about selecting the participants? Contacting and including people without a college education and without civic organization experience is difficult. By strong effort, the Regional Plan Association has obtained partici-



pation by people of all incomes, ages, races, and educational backgrounds. This was evident in CHOICES FOR '76, an experiment in providing alternative land use choices to the public for their reactions. The average questionnaire response for each of the five town meetings surveyed was 26,500. A sufficient number of all demographic types was canvassed to indicate opinion in each category. And by comparing CHOICES responses to responses on similar questions surveyed by the Gallup organization as a control, we found that our sample as a whole was not biased in any particular direction (e.g., toward change or against). This process required a great deal of time, money and energy.

What Have People Told Regional Plan?

Having first compared present development trends with some basic alternatives, Regional Plan got somewhat different indications of public

preference than pollsters who simply asked what people want. Poll results indicate that people don't want to live in cities and want more and more space around their homes. But even the pollsters have found that most people don't want to leave the advantages of the city, they only want to leave urban problems, tacking onto the urban edge, and enjoying both urban and rural advantages.

The automobile and expressway have made this possible for many people, although few succeed for long. A new wave of out-migrants overleaps them and soon they are imbedded in a spreading city. A homogenized urban pattern develops in which facilities line the highways and where widely-separated homes are built on scattered subdivisions unrelated to the jobs and services. That is the reality of the choice people make when they seek a place within the urban orbit but on the edge of urban development.

City Spread

Over the past 11 years, the Regional Plan Association has sponsored two series of five TV-newspaper town meetings, 11 large face-to-face conferences, a series of meetings with a distinguished and broadly representative leadership committee, and numerous meetings with special groups. Very substantial majorities have favored an alternative to the spreading city which starts with grouping jobs and services in large and small centers. In CHOICES FOR '76, last year's series presented on all 19 television channels in the New York Region, the vote for putting major activities and housing in old city downtowns was 90 percent

among those who received background information (i.e., saw the television series and/or read the book). Where there are no old downtowns in the area, 80 percent of those who had watched the series or read background information favored grouping major facilities in new downtowns. However, when asked where individual facilities should be located (offices, department stores and colleges), the favorable vote was substantial but not nearly as decisive.

Housing

As to housing, a change in school taxing was presented as a first step toward getting more low- to middle-income housing built, and support for a statewide school tax among those who had background information was nearly 3-1. But even if school taxes are changed, the large-lot zoning that had been a response to school tax pressures would not necessarily change. We asked whether respondents would favor some limited county or state involvement in zoning if needed to get more housing. In CHOICES, those with background information said "yes", 62-34, with the outer suburbanites—those living where the housing would go—being less favorable than the average; older city residents—those who need the housing—were more favorable. In earlier Regional Plan surveys, support was substantially stronger, but education also was higher, and that was related generally to increased support for alternatives to present trends.

Transportation

In all Regional Plan surveys, greater reliance on public transportation has been favored almost unanimously. But in CHOICES, some support dropped off when the conditions for getting good transit were presented. Willingness to subsidize fares (which

we presented as essential for increased transit use) was only slightly less than general support for transit, but clustering high density apartments and offices near transit stops was supported by only 67-23 among those who watched, read and discussed the issues in a group. Support for building more attached housing and fewer one-family houses to support good transit was favored by only 48-39 even among those who did all of those things. So the public will have to face that conflict in their preferences.

On open space, support for cluster subdivisions was 78-13 among those who read, watched and discussed in groups. A 2-1 majority favored buying now, with a large bond issue, all the public open space likely to be required over the next 50 years.

Altogether, a majority of the public consulted, after presentation of the prospects if policies did not change, chose alternative policies, though many indicated a wariness about increasing resident density. When greater density is in conflict with other values, such as public transportation, it is unclear which they would choose. Perhaps the energy shortage and the rapid rise in childless households will obviate a conflict.

What Does It All Mean?

Just preparing to ask the public (or any special segment of the public) its preferences begins to broaden the planners' thinking. They are much more likely to ask themselves, "How will blacks react to that idea?" "What will department store executives say?" etc. They will be able to guess some of the objections before they ask.

The public responses have value, too. They tell political and civic leaders what proposals informed

people are ready to seriously consider. On these issues, leadership can be successful. But leadership is essential. Regional Plan does not expect elected officials to follow the survey results blindly. We were not surprised, for example, that after New Jersey CHOICES participants strongly favored a shift from sales and real estate taxes to income taxes, the New Jersey legislature again refused to vote an income tax. There were many reasons peculiar to the time and place. But two reasons will be common to other issues, times and places: (1) Many New Jersey residents were not as informed as CHOICES participants. (2) Those who favor an income tax probably are not as intense in their feeling as those who oppose it and therefore are less likely to vote at the next election primarily on that one issue. Indeed, our surveys and others seem to indicate that unless the majority—shown on the surveys to favor land use changes—are mobilized to demonstrate the intensity of their feeling on those issues, the minority who fear change will continue to prevent it and guarantee a continuation of the spreading city.

"The Metropolis Speaks," a full report on the CHOICES project and results is available from Regional Plan Association, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. A step by step evaluation of the process, "Listening to the Metropolis," is also available. HUD was a major financial contributor to the project and its evaluation.

A fuller version of this article is available as a chapter of *The Good Earth of America* (C. Lowell Harriss, ed.) Prentice-Hall, 1974.

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the emerging role of 'managed growth'

By Edward N. Reiner and Randall W. Scott

Attention is currently being focused on an increasingly widespread national phenomenon: the management of growth and its concomitant concerns with the adequacy of current land use controls, and upgrading the quality of urban, suburban, and rural life. Moreover, what was once considered a basic tenet of American society—that growth is “good” and automatically beneficial to those affected—is being reexamined.

One cause of this marked change in thinking about growth is the awakening of citizens to the consequences and effects that unsound community development practices have visited on society; planning literature abounds in reports of potential and actual deleterious effects of such practices. Zoning and other land use regulations or devices have often failed to properly anticipate growth problems. Land use regulations—originally designed not so much to guide growth itself, but to formalize property rights and to incorporate nuisance law concepts [that one could use his property freely as long as no harm was done to neighboring property]—have more recently been deemed insufficient by planners and citizens alike, though often for quite different reasons.

Public Dismayed

With the public sensing a deterioration of its environment and its standard of living, and communicating that concern to local government officials, the demand for new actions and programs seems to be increasing. Boards of supervisors, county executives, and mayors are being elected to, or relieved of, positions in local government on the basis of their announced growth control strategies. The planner must also be responsive to these pressures, for he has seen from a professional viewpoint burgeoning complexes, often badly planned, putting acute pressure on “inadequate” transportation and recreation facilities, classrooms, water supply, solid waste and sewage systems, etc., in localities around the country. Citizens are also complaining about overcrowding or overuse of facilities, high tax rates, and deterioration of the quality of services.

As the ardent controlled growth advocates would have it, unless rational management programs are incorporated into the urban growth process, relatively untrammelled growth will continue to produce burdensome and uneconomic sprawl, insufficient or inadequate municipal facilities, blight, noxious air, water and noise pollution, municipal financing problems, and a serious diminishing of natural resources. (It is forecast that by the year 2000, assuming continuation of our present

demographic growth trends, 83 percent of the population will be concentrated in large urban regions. Clearly, adequate local and regional management is needed both in these areas, and those not so highly urbanized, if we are to have maximum quality of life and efficient land uses in the future.)

Although this rising clamor to guide the growth process is of fairly recent origin, the problems of growth, and even the concepts of growth management, are not. Planners, lawyers, and other concerned professionals have in the past addressed themselves to this field, at times somewhat tangentially, and have published prodigious amounts of material. Unfortunately, only a small number of them have recognized the serious nature or complexity of the problems latent in increased density and growth, and fewer still have attempted to come to grips with the social and legal dilemmas inherent in “excluding” or “controlling” growth, resulting in minimal production of pragmatic tools for the local governments concerned. More often what information does exist deals with one aspect or with scattered techniques.

Local Initiatives

In some sections of the country, the outcry for growth control already has led to the adoption of managed growth ordinances, as in Ramapo, New York; Boca Raton, Florida; Petaluma, California; Boulder, Colorado; and Fairfax County, Virginia. Such local governments are attempting to grapple with their growth processes in a legally permissible and politically feasible manner... a difficult problem indeed, considering the implications that arise from tighter governmental control over the whole question of land use and development. For example, in considering such extensive regulation, one critical question posed from both a legal and political perspective is whether “managed growth” is a creative and defensible attempt to guide community development by environmentally sound and socially responsive mechanisms... or a guise for exclusionary land use practices which preserve the status quo of a community, without regard to regional needs and housing equity problems.

The attempts of communities to “control” their growth rates, to preserve their tax base, amenities, etc., have long been reflected in local regulations, plans, and ordinances. Methods employed have usually included large-lot zoning, designation of environmentally-sensitive land areas, prohibition of multifamily units, or escalation of housing costs (by minimum floor space requirements, or “impact fees”). While many of these techniques undoubtedly have a valid basis, a number of them were

challenged in various State courts during the 1960s and early 1970s. This litigation generally sought to establish either the allegedly exclusionary **intent** of the community in passing such ordinances, or the inequitable **effect** they had on housing supply and opportunities, or both.

Court Actions

The courts in Pennsylvania and New Jersey took the lead in these early exclusionary zoning cases, by looking behind the traditional veneer of "deference to the legislature" and a "presumption of validity," that is normally accorded zoning regulations. [For a further discussion of this topic, the reader should see the October 1973 issue of *HUD Challenge*.] It was the assertion of litigators in such cases that the typical litany of defenses offered by localities to justify their practices offered no valid defense, and that the alleged "exclusion" involved severe curtailment of the rights, privileges, freedoms, and constitutional guarantees of low-income persons seeking housing opportunities. A number of reasons were found for invalidating the ordinances: that they violated equal protection guarantees, breached due process rights, amounted to a taking of property, constituted invalid fiscal zoning, failed to serve the general welfare, fell outside the scope of enabling legislation, restricted the opportunity to travel or settle, etc.

Most recently, in New Jersey the courts articulated a "regional general welfare" concept, following somewhat similar ideas expressed in Pennsylvania [in such cases as *In re Appeal of Girsh*, 263 A.2d 395 (1970), and *National Land and Investment Company v. Kohn*, 215 A.2d 597 (1965)]. In a leading New Jersey case—*Oakwood at Madison*—the judge took a major step, and declared: "In pursuing the valid zoning purpose of a balanced community, a municipality must not ignore housing needs, that is, its fair proportion of the obligation to meet the housing needs of its own population and of the region. Housing needs are encompassed within the general welfare. The general welfare does not stop at each municipal boundary." *Oakland at Madison, Inc., v. Madison*, 283 A.2d 353 (1971). This case in many respects is the culmination of a line of thought regarding exclusion, the regional effects of zoning ordinances (the local effect on the regional general welfare), and the basically unilateral (local) use of the police power. (Currently on appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court).

A raft of literature debating the pros and cons of the various aspects of the judicial reasoning in the exclusion cases has appeared in the last several years. For example, *Recent Cases in Exclusionary Zoning*, a 1973 publication

of the American Society of Planning Officials, reiterated an earlier finding of ASPO: "Whatever the motive, if a locality's zoning action results in depriving minorities and low-income persons of housing when there is a demonstrable need for such housing, it is considered exclusionary zoning." Moreover, "Due to the recognized invidious effects of exclusionary zoning on the welfare of individuals, communities, regions, and the Nation as a whole, ASPO cannot countenance its use." Yet this whole question seems at times to be both submerged, and feared, in the growth control debate.

Nevertheless—regardless of the issue of exclusionary effects—a number of communities have found it "necessary" to proceed with even more purposeful and systematic attempts to control or to exclude growth. Usually, such efforts mean an at least temporary exclusion of selected types of development. (Housing is usually controlled, while industrial zoning is "a different question.") Exclusionary controls and the problem of social equities—though perhaps seen as items to be reckoned with—seldom are viewed in the context of what affirmative action a local community can take to rectify the disadvantages (if any) of growth management.

The enormously complex problem then and now is to try to distinguish those growth-limiting plans or techniques which deprive the general public of its valid rights and opportunities, and those which guide growth justifiably, effectively, and equitably. Dealing with the apparently polar issues of equity and growth management is difficult and precarious both for the local officials and the courts, alike. One area which tried the "new path" was the now renowned Ramapo, New York, which discovered growth management in the late 1960s; in so doing, it spawned a series of court battles which helped write one of the more important chapters in American land use law and planning practice. The town lost its case at the first appellate level, but on appeal to the State's highest court, the ordinance and methodology were upheld in May of 1972. The word regarding the legal propriety of "managed growth" spread throughout professional circles; the town was deluged with requests from other municipalities for information, and the professional, legal, and trade association journals published many comments on the significance and meaning of the case, *Golden v. Town Planning Board of Ramapo*, 285 N.E. 2d 291 (1972). Some commentators attacked the decision as ignoring basic facts and obvious problems; others saw whole new vistas of growth control options opened by this decision.

The specifics of the case tend to detract from

discussion of the general planning "principles" involved, but several unique elements of the Ramapo system deserve mention here. First, the methodology generally required that land parcels have available a minimum level of facilities measured under a point system before development be allowed to proceed. Secondly, such services were either to be provided by the town at the schedule fixed under the 18-year capital improvements program, or built earlier at the expense of the developer/property owner. Thirdly, the town's plans set forth the timing of the provision for measuring services to most of the land parcels, thus "freezing" some land for extended periods of time even though there were equivalent zoning classifications for serviced and "nonserviced" land parcels.

This novel system managed to survive attacks which claimed confiscation of property, violation of due process, and abrogation of equal protection, although some have suggested that the plan withstood the challenge that exclusion was involved or that regional housing pressures were repressed because these issues were not at all adequately raised in the arguments and briefs of the case.

Many people were inclined to read the court's opinion as if it endorsed an "anything goes" approach to local growth controls. The supposedly "strong" language of the court, deploring in general any attempts to "exclude" persons seeking housing, has often been noted but some commentators see such statements as illusory or merely gratuitous. The court seemed to be indicating that it had thought about the right things when it determined that the Ramapo concept was not blatantly unsatisfactory. This illustrates the point noted earlier: which practices and effects constitute exclusion, or how exclusionary effects are established or proven, continue to be matters of confusion both to litigants and judges. To say the least, the homebuilders were not happy with the *Ramapo* precedent. Just a year and a half later, the industry mounted a full-scale attack on the growth control ordinance of Petaluma, California. This time, the case was brought in a Federal court on strikingly different challenge-grounds concerning a relatively unusual growth management "system" implemented by the City of Petaluma. The decision in the case was announced from the bench in January of 1974, with a written decision in April of 1974. (The case is now on expedited appeal to the United States District Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, *Construction Industry Association of Sonoma County, et al. v. City of Petaluma*, 375 F. Supp. 574 (1974).)

Very briefly, the city's solution to its growth problems was an average 500-unit-per-year limit on residential

applications over a 5 year period. Construction applications were to be judged annually on a point accumulation basis, in what amounted to a bidding system. (Developers who sought building authorizations or approvals, did so competitively at a rate of 40 percent or less of the past and projected growth rates.)

The importance of the case is underlined by the significant amount of advice and monetary support received by the plaintiff (the homebuilders association) and by the defendant (from other municipalities in the area). Both contenders saw the case as having potential ramifications well beyond the local jurisdiction, which could either weaken or greatly reinforce emerging growth control principles. (Ramapo defenders, however, are quick to distinguish between the crude nature of Petaluma's system, and the more sophisticated methodology utilized by Ramapo.) The findings of the district court in Petaluma were seen as having prospective influence over the validity of a broad range of growth controls, concepts, and systems which might be attempted or established in other locations in the future.

The decision in the spring of 1974 includes both "findings of fact" and "conclusions of law," though they are somewhat intermingled. Planners will find the opinion (and the briefs on appeal) worthy of meticulous scrutiny, for it poses assertions and conclusions that have great import for this rapidly-developing field of law and planning. The District court found that in all regards—including water and sewer facilities—"the city is able, at the present time, to return to the absorption of existing market and demographic rates." The court then imposed its own determination of the adequacy of public facilities capacities on the community. Secondly, the judge found that the city offered no justifiable reasons or defense for resisting growth or market or demographic pressures and thus, it had to return to growth accommodation at a rate consistent with regional analysis and market projections. Thirdly, the court, considering the evidence offered by both sides, decided that Petaluma was a "growth center" for the region and that it therefore has a special role in area-wide growth, and could not seek to otherwise avoid the problems that accompany growth by utilizing constitutionally unacceptable means to reduce development.

Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly, the primary constitutional area in which the city was found lacking was "mobility"—or the right to settle in the town or area in which one chooses. In Petaluma, one town had in effect independently and unilaterally determined that it would not accept the amount of growth which the market was dictating, but that it would "rationally" or

"properly" direct and limit development. (Note, however, that, as in Ramapo, only residential growth is limited, while industrial, commercial, and other types of growth are not subject to the allegedly valid growth-control methodologies and are not limited.)

Questions Raised

Taking *Ramapo* and *Petaluma*—and reading them together—one is left with a series of major questions. Must a locality proceed with full-scale absorption of growth as established by demographic trends? Are limitations of utilities and facilities a valid growth guidance technique? Must capital facilities be designed to absorb all the growth projected for a community? Can a community only "phase" or "guide the location" of growth...but not affect the total amount of growth? Does a technique which "interferes" with total growth-pressure absorption run the risk of being found as violating the right to travel and mobility? Is the exclusion of housing actually synonymous with interference with mobility or is this stretching the law too far?

These are some of the questions that are critical to the continuing growth-management debate which is raging across the country. There are other major court battles in Boca Raton, Florida; Livermore, California; and Boulder, Colorado. They will all be watched carefully, for they will provide guidelines to planners and local government officials as they face their responsibilities to their many publics.

Court battles are only one aspect of the growth management discussion, though certainly one of the most visible. Administrative and legislative experiments will continue on the local and State levels; the difficulty is that this will be done on a piecemeal basis, in limited periods of time and often with insufficient staff to handle the necessary in-depth analysis. Moreover, there is no central collection of information on the basic tools and concepts in growth management for use by local officials and citizens.

The current state of the growth management process needs urgent study. In order to make possible more informed decisions, and to facilitate the involvement of key individuals and agencies, the fullest possible current information on the social, economic, administrative, legal, and environmental impacts of various growth alternatives is required. Very few communities have the capacity to study this complex, multi-disciplinary area comprehensively. Innovations in the field in one part of the country are often not heard of elsewhere; vacuums of information exist. Information which may be redundant or conflicting can require inordinate amounts of time and acute analysis;

often this task is beyond the ordinary resources of local governments.

As a result of the need for a major study of the growth management field, the Urban Land Institute, with the support of HUD, launched a one-year collection of information in this field, which has resulted in a soon-to-be-published (February 1975) three-volume, 1,800-page reference work, entitled *Management and Control of Growth-Issues Techniques-Problems-Trends*.

The text, edited by R.W. Scott and D.J. Brower, is a compilation of the recent works of over 140 professionals in the field. It is intended to be an educational tool for governmental officials, legislators, judges, planners, lawyers, and the general public. It should help fill the critical need for a current status report on the growth management field. Professional organizations should continue large scale collection and dissemination efforts for the benefit of local practitioners, officials, legislators and the judiciary over the course of the next several years. A recent step in this direction was initiation of a study of the effects of legal and administrative processes and actions on the equitable provision of housing and balanced urban growth in this country. This one-year study is being conducted by the American Bar Association under a \$286,000 grant from HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research. The complete three-volume series on *Management & Control of Growth*, including a 40 page executive summary, may be obtained from the Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N.W., Wash., D.C. 20036.



Mr. Scott is chief research attorney of the Advisory Commission on Housing and Urban Growth of the American Bar Association and co-editor of *Management & Control of Growth: Issues-Techniques-Problems-Trends*. Mr. Reiner is an attorney and program analyst in HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research.

The Costs of Sprawl

by James E. Hoben

The threatened exhaustion of many of our natural resources and the ongoing battle with inflation have prompted a national search for answers on how we got where we are and what our choices are. National attention has been primarily focused on studies of rising costs of consumer items from food to fuel. But not much attention has been focused on how much it costs us to live the way we do—particularly in terms of our land use patterns. For example, does it make a difference if we live in conventionally spaced single-family detached houses, in a clustered set of single-family houses or in a planned mix of housing types including clustered single-family houses, townhouses, and two- and six-story apartments? The answer appears to be a clear yes. We have land use choices which can make a big difference in our municipal and personal budgets, environment and free time.

One source of documented evidence is *The Costs of Sprawl*—the first quantitative analysis of the economic, environmental and social costs of several different neighborhood and community land use patterns. The report systematically documents what many community planners, architects, developers and resource experts have believed for years—that a planned mix of clustered and higher density land uses is much more efficient than a non-contiguous, low density, single-family development pattern. Planned higher density communities can save 44 percent in investment and energy costs and produce 45 percent less pollution.

This unique study was jointly sponsored by the President's Council on Environmental Quality, the HUD Office of Policy Development and Research and the Environmental Protection Agency. The research was performed by the Real Estate Research Corporation under a \$150,000 research contract.

The study was intended to help mayors, city managers, planning boards, developers and citizens in making increasingly difficult decisions about land use. Public officials are being pressed by concerned citizens for information to help them evaluate and understand the impact of land use decisions on the community. They ask whether costs of public facilities will be balanced by tax revenues from new development. There are also environ-

mental concerns. How will the development affect air or water pollution, energy consumption, wildlife and open space?

Study Approach

The study analyzes prototype development patterns, not actual developments, although many of the data were obtained from empirical studies undertaken by others. The prototypes were assumed to be located on typical sites without unique slope or soil problems and without any existing roads, sewers, etc. Standard unit cost figures were used to estimate the costs of building alternative types of development.

Costs are estimated for different neighborhood types, each neighborhood being composed of 1,000 dwelling units of one of the following housing types: single-family, conventionally located; single-family, clustered; townhouses; walkup apartments (two stories); and high-rise apartments (six stories).

Neighborhoods were aggregated into different communities, each of which contained 10,000 dwelling units or a population of 33,000. Six community types were analyzed, each containing a mixture of the various neighborhood housing types but differing in average development density and land use arrangements. All six communities were assumed to contain the same amount of land—6,000 acres.

This summary refers to two of the six community types analyzed: the low density sprawl and the high density clustered communities. Communities of sprawl are made up of single-family houses, 75 percent sited in a traditional grid pattern and the rest clustered. Neighborhoods are sited in a "leapfrog" pattern with little contiguity. This represents the typical pattern of suburban development. In high density clustered communities 40 percent of the housing is high-rise apartments (6 stories only), 30 percent walkup apartments (2 stories), 20 percent townhouses, and 10 percent clustered single-family houses. All dwelling units are clustered in contiguous neighborhoods, much in the pattern of a planned new community.

Figure 1 lists the types of costs analyzed for all six prototypes.

Findings

LAND USE: Although both communities cover the same area, over 50 percent of the land in the high density clustered community remains completely undeveloped, whereas all the land is at least partially developed in the low density sprawl community. The low density sprawl community has substantial amounts of vacant but sewered and paved areas reflecting the leapfrog development pattern. The high density clustered community has 30 percent more public open space. However, when backyards are counted as open space the low density community has twice as much public and private open areas. The amount of land used for schools and other public buildings is the same for both communities, but the high density commu-

nity uses about half as much land for transportation as the low density community.

ECONOMIC COST: The total capital investment costs for the higher density community are 44 percent less than those for the low density community—the largest cost savings being in the construction of residential dwellings followed by costs for roads and utilities, which are half that of lower density areas. Figure II shows the breakdown in land costs, capital costs and the division of the costs between the homebuyer and the local government. The difference in operating and maintenance costs is not particularly significant as these are largely related to the population being served instead of the land use pattern.

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS: Energy consumption is determined primarily by residential heating and air conditioning requirements and by automobile use. Denser apartment and townhouse developments have lower requirements. Clustered structures can also reduce automobile travel. Combined, the higher density clustered community pattern consumes 44 percent less energy. Air pollution is closely related to energy consumption for heating and travel. Thus air pollution is approximately 45 percent less in the more dense community. Pollution from automobiles is calculated to be 20 to 30 percent less. The findings on stormwater pollution and sediment are similar to the above. The smaller amounts of paved surfaces in the clustered higher density community produce less runoff and reduce down stream flood problems. It is

important to note that while higher density clustered communities generate less pollution, they do cover smaller areas resulting in higher pollution levels per acre.

PERSONAL COSTS: Estimates of the personal costs were more difficult but the conclusions were that higher density clustered developments required less time for maintenance chores and traveling to jobs, schools, etc. However, if poorly designed, people could suffer from feelings of crowding and anonymity.

All of the results show a rather surprising consistency. But caution is required. The results are based on prototypes; they are not directly applicable to any specific development, either existing or proposed. The features of a particular community and more so of a particular site can affect the magnitude of any of the identified costs. Examples of these variations are developed in the full report.

Study Implications

Since its publication, *The Costs of Sprawl* has given rise to several questions about its meaning and potential uses.

Probably most important is whether the study is to be considered "national policy." The answer is no. It was not prepared to tell anyone how to live. *The Costs of Sprawl* simply provides us with a better knowledge of our choices and their meaning.

Nor is the study a renunciation of the "American dream" of the single-family home. Actually, it reflects an economic fact already realized by builders and homebuyers. The Bureau of Census Housing statistics show that the 1960 4-to-1 ratio of single to multifamily housing starts has now changed to 1-to-1. In fact, multifamily units have taken a slight lead and comprise 52 percent of all unsubsidized building permits issued in 1973.

Another issue raised by reviewers of the report is that higher densities are unacceptable to most communities. The average city or county official or citizen might conclude that the report is based on a study of Manhattan's densities and therefore the findings are unique or certainly inapplicable to their community. Actually, the range of densities between the single-family sprawl pattern and the more efficient high density clustered pattern is fairly modest. The sprawl pattern is roughly 2.2 dwellings per gross acre and the high density community is 4.6 dwellings per gross acre. The high density pattern is generally equivalent to a planned new community such as Reston, Virginia, which is composed of a mix of clustered single-family houses, townhouses, two and six story apartments, with substantial surrounding open spaces.

Another study implication is that the conduct of environmental and land use impact analyses is fully justifiable in terms of significant dollars and cents savings. These are required under the National Environmental Protection Act of 1970 and in 27 States which required land use and public facility impact analyses. A word of caution is in order, however. As each government develops impact analysis processes there is a need to insure

FIGURE I

TYPES OF COSTS ANALYZED

Economic Costs (capital and operating)

Residential (capital only)

Open Space/Recreation

Schools

Streets and Roads

Utilities (sewer, water, storm drainage, gas, electric, telephone)

Public Facilities and Services

police, fire, solid waste collection

library, health care, churches

general government

Land

Environmental Effects

Air Pollution

Water Pollution, Erosion

Noise

Vegetation and Wildlife

Visual Effects

Water and Energy Consumption

Personal Effects

Use of Discretionary Time

Psychic Costs

Travel Time

Traffic Accidents

Crime

that these do not become bureaucratic delaying devices. Time is money. Long delays in government processing of zoning, subdivision and building permit requests can raise the price of housing out of reach of an average family and/or bankrupt many developers who are trying to provide well thought-out projects.

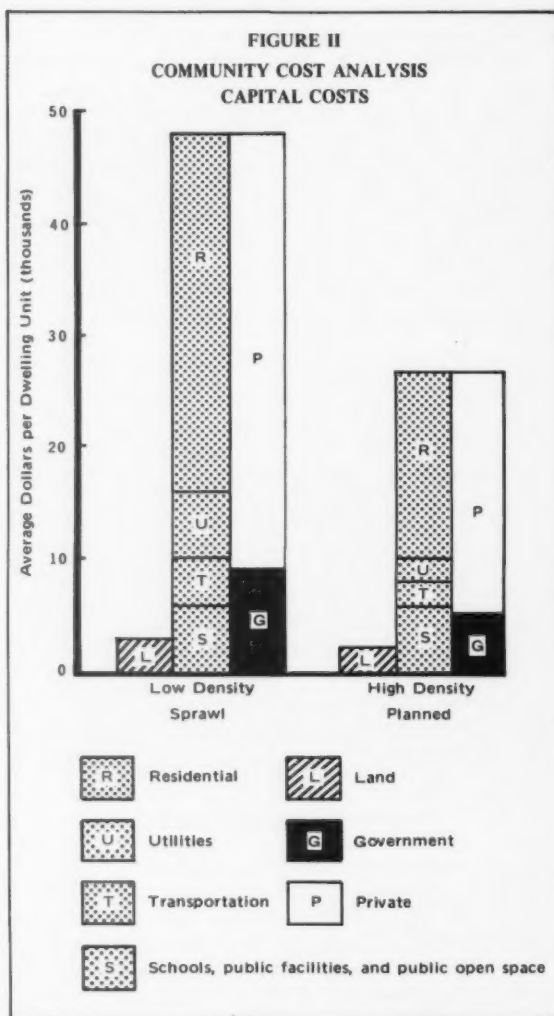
The cost savings of clustered higher density communities do not come without effort. The report fails to adequately prove that land use planning and development guidance are critical to efficient development patterns. Higher densities and clustered housing require careful community planning to assure balances between concentrations of people and the necessary public and private provision of transportation, sewer, water, educational, recreational and employment opportunities. These balances must be worked out precisely for the present and future or else the results can be unliveable chaos. In contrast, relatively unplanned single-family sprawl has been livable although more expensive. Homes in low density patterns are much less interdependent. Each home is generally more self-sufficient in that it may have its own water supply, sewage disposal by septic systems and private backyard recreation.

Local officials will find *The Costs of Sprawl* reports useful beyond their general findings; they provide a checklist of identified capital, operating, environmental and personal costs which deserve consideration in local level community planning. Furthermore they contain a detailed exposition of public service standards and costs (both capital and operating) for housing, public facilities and infrastructure. These can serve as a starting point for developing analyses of standards and costs which take into account local circumstances and changes over time in such factors as technology and the price of different resources.

Developers will also benefit from the reports. They provide a strong case for housing types within the means of a larger portion of the population. Most importantly, however, the report findings should help to influence suburban governments to selectively relax exclusive large-lot single-family zoning and include multifamily zoning that provides a wider variety of housing. Assuming that a development is well planned, the developer will be able to obtain a higher economic use of his land and the host government may be able to accommodate future growth at less economic and environmental cost.

A final possible benefit of this study is a further rationale for the preservation and rebuilding of our current cities and careful infilling of skipped-over areas which are not required as open spaces. In many developed areas we find excess street, sewer, water, and school facilities. Some of these facilities are still being paid off. It only seems sensible to give more consideration to stronger management of our land uses to guide a portion of future development inward so that the facilities we have already purchased are productively employed.

The Costs of Sprawl is only a beginning toward



understanding our choices and their meaning. The time has clearly come when land use is not just an area of interest to planners and developers. The average citizen is concerned and so is the elected official.

Copies of the three *Costs of Sprawl* reports may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Executive Summary—15 pages, \$.55; Literature Review and Bibliography—300 pages, \$3.25; and Detailed Cost Analysis—278 pages, \$2.90.

Mr. Hoben is program manager for land use research, HUD Office of Policy Development and Research. He jointly directed the *Costs of Sprawl* study along with Edwin Clark of the Council on Environmental Quality and Cheryl Wasserman of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Forest Hills Diary: The Crisis of Low-Income Housing, by Mario Cuomo with a preface by Jimmy Breslin and an afterword by Richard Sennett. Random House, New York, 1974. 209p. \$6.95.

What's a nice guy like Mario Cuomo doing in the middle of a controversy like Forest Hills? Apparently Cuomo asked himself the same question; so he kept a diary of his 6-month entanglement with the dispute in Forest Hills. Now published with a rousing introduction by Jimmy Breslin and a provocative afterword by Richard Sennett, *Forest Hills Diary: The Crisis of Low-Income Housing* is a revealing case history of personal and political compromise.

Forest Hills, a largely middle-class, predominately Jewish, traditionally liberal neighborhood in the New York City borough of Queens, had united in opposition to a proposed low-income housing project. The residents' fight against the complex workings of the city government was months old and so far they had lost every battle; construction was slated to begin soon. Strident ad hoc organizations and insistent local leaders emerged; a latent sense of community surfaced. Furthermore, the dispute had pushed itself into the national consciousness, becoming a symbolic test of scattered site housing and an emblem of racial and ethnic conflict.

Into the crescendo of rhetoric and recrimination, Mayor Lindsay dispatched Mario Cuomo, a New York lawyer with a reputation for successfully settling community-city disputes. As negotiator, his job was to reconcile the citizens of Forest Hills to some sort of low-income housing in their community and, toward that end, to scale down or otherwise modify the housing project. Cuomo insists that he took the job reluctantly and somewhat diffidently. But, nonetheless, the dispute was a chance for him to test his faith in the value of compromise and to exhibit his political skills—skills which would lead him to seek the democratic nomination for lieutenant-governor.

For Cuomo, it's obvious that politics is people. Self-important local leaders, worried PTA members, insensitive officials, concerned "liberals," earnest urban planners, militant middle class blacks parade through the pages of his diary. Their combinations and juxtapositions are often ironic, usually revealing. All the now-familiar scenes from local political dramas are there, too: mock public hearings, impassioned, late-night community meetings, shrill demonstrations. But Cuomo is fascinated with it all and his fascination is contagious.

The diary outlines clearly, and sometimes crudely, the tradeoffs involved in low-income housing. Local representatives bargain to increase the proportion of elderly units or to raise the income limits. Others offer to trade the project for a needed high school; some volunteer to screen applicants; still others suggest restricting the units to Vietnam veterans. Several speak hopefully of a leased housing approach as an alternative to "projects" and advocate a waiting game. The debate over Forest Hills becomes a debate over the future of low-income housing policy.

Cuomo's diary offers little encouragement for that future. The "solution" to the Forest Hills dispute is expedient for everyone and satisfactory to no one. The project is halved, reduced from 24 to 12 stories. Cuomo, unfailingly optimistic through most of his book, is dissatisfied and uncomfortable at the end. He would have liked a happy ending to *Forest Hills Diary*; unfortunately he couldn't write one. The journal ends on a note of personal and political anticlimax.

Anticlimax: Richard Sennett, in his afterword, seizes on the theatrical metaphors in Cuomo's account and analyzes the Forest Hills confrontation as living theater. Everyone is playing a role, he argues brilliantly; every event is carefully staged, each meeting meticulously plotted. New York, a city with a taste for theater, provides a willing audience. Finally Sennett not only analyzes; he also cautions, pointing up the dangers of too much political dramaturgy. The crisis in housing is happening off-stage.

—Elizabeth Nelson
Graduate Student in American Civilization
Harvard University

A Bucket of Oil: The Humanistic Approach to Building Design for Energy Conservation, by William Wayne Caudill, Frank D. Lawyer, and Thomas A. Bullock. Cahners Books, Boston, Mass., 1974. 89p. Illustrated. That we must conserve energy and at the same time preserve the dignity of man is the thesis of this book by architects and associates concerned with the energy crisis. They suggest architectural design that relies on natural light and ventilation: "the sun and wind... not fuel." They say: "We must think of our buildings as facilities to enrich life—not boxes for storing people. Saving energy must become a design determinant. But human values must be design determinants, too."

Peekskill in Pictures

"Peekskill, N.Y. may, indeed, become one of the brightest little jewels along the Hudson River waterfront," said a Newsweek magazine article tracing the rejuvenation of this small Westchester County community, 40 miles North of New York City.

Indeed, the future of Peekskill looks bright after a period of radical transformation in the sixties and today, as the city undertakes a one-year study—subsidized in part by a HUD grant under the 701 comprehensive planning program—to determine additional long range growth needs and establish priorities for the use of the Hudson waterfront.

For many years, Peekskill, originally a Dutch trading post founded about 1650, depended on the Hudson River and later the railroad for its economic livelihood. Changing technology reduced the importance of these as economic factors and they were never adequately replaced. As a result, many areas of the city lapsed into decline and deterioration. This era in the life of the city was reversed by a wide range of developmental programs beginning in 1967. These included a 25-acre urban renewal program; a 200-acre, 1500 dwelling unit concentrated code enforcement neighborhood improvement program; two open space park programs; a community renewal planning program; a low rent leased housing program; a purchase and rehabilitation low rent program; a Turnkey

low-rent program; a 115-acre neighborhood development program, encompassing the city's entire central business district and an interest subsidy housing program sponsored by local church groups, costing \$25 million in State and HUD assistance.

Area-Wide Changes Effectuated

As much as 30 percent of the city's limited, four-square-mile land area has been directly affected by these programs which are transforming the area into the "economic and cultural hub of northern Westchester County" as projected by the Regional Plan Association. Peekskill is now the retail and office center for northern Westchester, with a trade area of over 150,000 people and sales of over \$80 million per year.

Much of this activity is part of a community development program that local officials feel is a prototype for redevelopment programs now being encouraged by the recently enacted Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

It was in 1967 that the real thrust, leading to what is today referred to as the "new" City of Peekskill, took place. In that year, under the direction of Mayor Michael J. DiBart, the city made a conscious effort to effect the renewal evident today.

"When I first came to office" said Mayor DiBart, "the city was governed by a part-time mayor and council and administered by a series of loosely



Mayor DiBart (left) and city planner David Ornstein review map of city's renewal area.



organized city departments. Much of what was then being done was insufficient to halt the decline of parts of the city. I felt that to meet the urban demands of the 20th century, we had to reverse the destructive process, slowly destroying our community."

Professional Guidance Sought

"We realized that professional guidance was necessary to enable us to make the right decisions and to properly administer them; so we sought to bring professionals to Peekskill. We hired an experienced city manager who introduced new administrative techniques to reorganize city departments into an efficient and productive team. We also hired a city planner, David A. Ornstein, who now heads a staff of 20 professionals and technicians in our community development agency. Together we've come a long way."

In discussing the expansion of his responsibilities, Mr. Ornstein said, "We began as the Peekskill Urban Renewal Agency and were responsible for planning and administering the city's total urban renewal and Federal low-rent housing programs. As the number and type of Federal and State grants increased, encompassing long range city planning, parks, code enforcement and rehabilitation, low interest loans and grants, urban design, neighborhood development, concentrated urban renewal, and social services, so did the responsibilities of the Urban Renewal Agency. During this period of increased grant activity, privately sponsored tax-supported development, both residential and commercial, was also encouraged in the city, and the agency worked to coordinate the construction with city-sponsored efforts and growth goals.

"Now with the new Housing and Community Development Act and special revenue sharing combining

Mayor DiBart (center) with Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr. (left) and Reverend Morgan of sponsoring United Methodist Church at topping off ceremony for Wesley Hall, a senior citizen housing complex.

these individual multi-categorical grants into a comprehensive block grant program to be administered by the city, we're again preparing to accommodate new responsibilities.

financing and completion of community development programs in Peekskill."

This financing has been an important factor in Peekskill's success. In

V.J. Ferrandino, a planner who is Deputy Director of Community Development, points out that "with an expected increase in population by as much as 50 to 100 percent by 1985, Peekskill is today the fastest growing city in Westchester County.

"Peekskill will be able to accommodate this growth," he says, "because we've expanded the city's central business district, both horizontally and vertically; rehabilitated and augmented the city's housing supply; made light industrial sites available; updated the city's infrastructure including roads and sewers; improved traffic patterns and controls; and constructed two 500-car off-street parking facilities.

"When you consider that this means more jobs, securing the fiscal future of our retail district, presently grossing over \$80 million, new schools and parks, and luxury, low and middle income apartment units as well as housing for senior citizens, I think we've given urban renewal a good name in Peekskill."

Elected Officials Accountable

Peekskill's Community Development Agency includes the Mayor and Common Council as the chairman and members respectively. Thus, responsibility for the city's redevelopment programs rests directly with the city's elected officials. This form of organization, which allows a coalescing of many programs under one administrative body, facilitates efficient communication and prevents duplication of effort. All the people on the staff, although funded from various programs, work for the one agency. This allows much more flexibility and efficiency in the whole operation. Mr. Ornstein says, "We're approaching what in the business world is called an 'economy of scale' and are accruing similar benefits in productivity. I try to run my organization like a private enterprise operation, but with the profits going to the citizen taxpayers of the city."

*Peekskill Community
Development Office*



Before (top) and after (bottom)—Peekskill's downtown NDP redevelopment areas.

Governor Malcolm Wilson recently signed into law the Peekskill Community Development Agency Act, officially transforming our local renewal agency into the Peekskill Community Development Agency, reflecting the broader role of the agency's activities, and promoting and expediting the

five years, over \$25 million in Federal HUD and New York State funds have been invested within its four square miles. This public investment has been augmented by more than \$75 million in private capital for existing and definitely scheduled developments.

New Land Use Study*

More efficient patterns of land development can decrease energy consumption, lower public and private costs for housing and cut environmental degradation, three Federal agencies reported in a new land use study released in October.

The study, "The Costs of Sprawl," is the first comprehensive analysis of the economic, environmental and social costs associated with various types of dwellings including detached single family houses, townhouses, walkup apartments and highrise apartments, and various types of community development patterns—from low density with only single family detached homes to a high density planned community.

"The Costs of Sprawl" was prepared by the Real Estate Research Corporation for the Council on Environmental Quality, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Environmental Protection Agency and was released after a briefing in Washington by CEQ Chairman, Russell W. Peterson; HUD Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, Michael H. Moskow; and EPA Administrator, Russell E. Train.

The three officials reported the following results of the study:

Land Use

- Higher density communities use less than half as much land per dwelling compared to low density communities.

- The amount of land used for schools and other public open space is the same in all communities, but the high density community uses about half as much for transportation as the low density community.

Economic Costs

- In terms of total investment costs, the high density planned community is distinctly less expensive: 21 percent lower than the cost of the combination (high and low density) mix community and 44 percent lower than the low density community.

- Not only are total investment costs lower with the high density planned community, but also the government is likely to pay a lower proportion of these costs than in more traditional developments.

- The largest savings are in lower construction costs for dwellings and important savings are also attributable to reduced costs for roads and utilities, which are about 55 percent lower in the high density community than the low density case.

Energy and Environmental Costs

- Higher density developments require less energy, and better planned and higher density communities stimulate less automobile use. As a result, the high density planned community generates about 45 percent less air pollution than the low density.

- The high density community uses 44 percent less energy and 35 percent less water than does the lower density sprawl community.

Mr. Moskow said the value of the "Costs of Sprawl" is that "it will substantially help local officials and citizens make better informed decisions about what kind of community they want. The report will be a useful reference for identifying the full range of costs which must be considered by each community in selecting growth patterns."

Dr. Peterson emphasized the importance of these decisions and the report's findings since the expansion of metropolitan areas into rural areas is continuing at a rapid rate. "Between 1960 and 1970, over 2,000 acres per day were transferred from rural to urban use," he said.

Mr. Train said that "although the report does not conclude that any particular development on housing type is best, it seriously challenges the assumption that the traditional single family house is most desirable." He also pointed out that "this report indicates how important good land use and planning is to the attainment of many of our environmental, energy and social goals."

The report is available from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Council on Environmental Quality and the Government Printing Office.

—John Fogarty
Council on Environmental Quality

"The whole point in land use planning is that it has to be politically viable. If it isn't, you've just got a pile of paper on a shelf—where so much land planning ends up."

—Joseph Bodovitz, Executive Director,
California Coastal Zone Conservation
Commission

* See page 24 for extended discussion of *The Costs of Sprawl*.



Real boulders joined together form an unusual focal spot in the Teen Cave's lobby.

Perseverance and community participation, combined with rocks, acoustical tunnels, brown carpeting and laminated wall paneling, transformed a drab storage basement in Boston's Bromley-Heath housing project into the lively and popular "Teen Cave."

Dubbed The Cave because of its up-beat grotto look and the sculptural mound of real boulders in the lobby, the center is a recreational and social meeting place for teens and young adults. It is one of several service facilities comprising the Community Center program, and was built under HUD's modernization funding. Approximately 100 teens visit The Cave each day.

The Cave was developed completely out of locked-up, inactive space in the basement of a seven-story building, one of several in the 1200-unit complex. Included in the 7400 square feet are a meeting room, snack bar, game rooms, TV room, sewing room, darkroom, arts and crafts area, and lounge.

Teen Center Proposed

Plans for the teen center began to take shape informally in 1969 when a group of teens and concerned adults cleaned out the basement and gave it a new coat of paint. About a year later, they presented a request for a

teen cave

By Anthony Casendino



Teen Cave members run the snack bar and have charge of the overall care and policing of the facility.

working teen center to the Community Task Force and the Boston Housing Authority. "At the time the Teen Center was proposed, I was not convinced that the modernization money should be spent on this kind of project since there were so many other high priority needs at Bromley Park, such as new roofs and boilers," said John F. Jennette, chief of maintenance engineering for the BHA. "However, since the project has been completed, I have been extremely pleased at the social results. Groups of youths standing around the street corners are not in evidence; the grounds are generally cleaner; and the vandalism in basements and other areas which created a negative influence on the Bromley-Heath community has greatly diminished."

An advisory group of Bromley-Heath teenagers and adults was formed for the purpose of defining program objectives and working with the architects, contributing their ideas and subjective preferences. "We probably would not have been able to come up with this design had we



Corrugated aluminum panels (foreground) form visual and acoustical tunnels between several activity areas.

been working independently of the kids. The unique result is a credit to the input of the community, and the fact that they like The Cave gives us tremendous satisfaction," said one of the architects for the project.

A Year of Success

After a year of operation, The Cave users and adult community advisors feel that it is working well, and report that it has been called the best modern teen center in New England. "The kids have been beautiful in their policing and care of the center," commented one Bromley-Heath father. "We are proud of the way our children have taken care of their center."

Total cost of the center was \$129,000, including major mechanical and electrical work done to provide adequate ventilation, illumination and electrical capacity.

The Teen Cave was completed in 1973; another HUD improvement phase carried out in 1972 included several tot-lots and installation of contemporary kitchens and baths. Current HUD-sponsored projects at Bromley-Heath include new roofing for all Bromley-Heath buildings, a new boiler plant, and a new community center and playground.

Mr. Casendino is an architect with Childs Bertman Tseckares Associates, Boston, Mass.

lines&numbers

Condominiums and Housing Starts in 1973

About one out of every eight housing units started in 1973 was intended for condominium ownership, according to survey results recently released by the Census Bureau. This includes both single family and multifamily, privately owned housing units. In terms of sales housing, condominiums accounted for 29 percent of total private starts. Geographically speaking, about half of the condominium units were started in the South.

About one-tenth of all one-unit sales housing starts, 28 percent of two to four unit structures and 18 percent of apartment units (five or more unit structures) were intended for condominiums. This data was obtained for the first time in 1973 so that historical data are not available.

The HUD/FHA program for the insurance of condominiums began in 1961 with the enactment of a home mortgage program covering a family unit in a multifamily building.

The program was expanded in 1964 to cover the insurance of mortgages to finance the construction or rehabilitation of multifamily projects intended for use as condominiums. The individual units in such projects are released from the blanket mortgage, sold to individual owners, and financed separately. During the first 8 months of 1974 a total of 963 single units were financed through HUD/FHA insured mortgages while 1,625 units were insured under blanket mortgages. During 1973, 3,399 single units and 6,386 blanket units were HUD/FHA insured.

New Privately Owned Housing Units Started, by Type: 1973 (Units in Thousands)

Type	U.S. Total	Northeast	Region North Central	South	West
Total	2,045	277	440	899	429
Sales	845	112	147	379	207
Condominium	241	29	26	119	67
Non-condominium and not reported	605	83	121	258	140
Rental	456	58	103	183	113
Owner occupancy	417	54	125	186	52
Other	327	53	65	152	57

New Privately Owned Housing Units Started, by Structure: 1973 (Units in Thousands)

Design of Structure	U.S. Total	Northeast	North Central	South	West
One Unit	1,132	155	269	478	230
Sales	673	95	131	276	171
Condominium	69	12	10	16	31
Non-condominium and not reported	605	83	121	260	140
Rental	10	1	4	4	1
Owner occupancy and not reported	449	59	134	198	57
Two to four units	118	17	23	38	41
Condominium sales	33	6	4	12	11
Rental and not reported	85	11	18	26	30
Five units or more	795	105	148	384	158
Condominium sales	139	10	12	91	25
Rental and not reported	656	94	136	292	134

—Prepared by Robert Ryan
OMI, Office of Administration

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